

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 /059 W  
-----118770 070319Z /66

R 061707Z SEP 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1616  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 6602

USEEC AND AMEMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT,PFOR,SP  
SUBJ: PCE TO CONTINUE EUROCOMMUNISM POLEMIC WITH MOSCOW

REF: MADRID A-130  
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1. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. PCE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY  
MANUEL AZCARATE TOLD A NON-PCE EMBASSY SOURCE LAST  
WEEK THAT THE PARTY HAD EVERY INTENTION OF KEEPING  
THE POLEMIC WITH THE SOVIETS ALIVE, ALTHOUGH THE PCE  
WOULD STOP SHORT OF ANY COMPLETE BREAK WITH THE CPSU.  
AZCARATE WAS QUITE CANDID, OUR SOURCE STATED, IN GIVING

AS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR THIS TACK THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIVIDENDS THE PARTY REAPED WHEN IT BREADED MOSCOW.

2. THE PCE'S NEXT SALVO APPARENTLY WILL BE AN ARTICLE BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER JAIME BALLESTEROS, TO APPEAR IN THE NEXT ADDITION OF THE PARTY'S THEORITICAL JOURNAL, "NUESTRA BANDERA." THE EMBASSY HAS OBTAINED A COPY OF THE DRAFT ARTICLE, WHOSE TITLE IS "APPOPOS THE CONDEMNATION BY 'NEW TIMES'." ITS MAIN POINTS ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW (END CONFIDENTIAL):

3. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. "THE 'NEW TIMES' ATTACK IS ONE MORE STEP, OF EXTRAORDINARY GRAVITY, AGAINST THE POLICY OF THE PCE. IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR SOVIET COMRADES... SIMPLY DO NOT ACCEPT THE IRREVERSIBLE FACT THAT TODAY THERE IS NO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CENTER. THAT ONE DOES NOT EXIST, NOR CAN IT EXIST. THAT EACH COMMUNIST PARTY DEVELOPS WITH COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE ITS OWN POLICIES AND THAT NO OTHER COMMUNIST PARTY...HAS THE SLIGHTEST RIGHT TO TRY TO CHANGE THEM BECAUSE THEY ARE UNPLEASANT, INCOMPREHENSIBLE, OR DO NOT FAVOR THAT PARTY'S STATE INTERESTS."

4. BALLESTEROS THEN REFERS TO PREVIOUS SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE PCE -- THE ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE THE PARTY, AFTER  
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CARRILLO'S CRITICISM OF THE CZECH, INVASION, BY PROMOTING THE LISTER FACTION; ATTACKS ON INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY AZCARATE IN 1974, AFTER HE HAD CALLED IN LATE 1973 FOR A "EUROPEAN ALTERNATIVE" TO CPSU-LED "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" -- AND ASCRIBES THEIR FAILURE TO THE FACT THAT THE POSITIONS ON CARRILLO AND AZCARATE WERE SHARED BY THE PARTY LEADERSHIP GENERALLY. HE THEN GOES ON TO STATE THAT THIS ALSO IS THE CASE WITH CARRILLO'S BOOK, "EUROCOMMUNISM AND STATE" (REFAIR). THE MOST RECENT PERSONAL ATTACKS ON CARRILLO BY 'NEW TIMES', HE CONTINUES, CLEARLY ARE PART OF AN OFFENSIVE NOT ONLY AGAINST THE PCE AS A WHOLE, BUT AGAINST ALL EUROPCOMMUNIST PARTIES.

5."EVEN MORE SURPRISING THAN THE ATTACK ITSELF IS ITS TONE; THE STYLE IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN ARTICULATED IS EXCESSIVELY REMINISCENT OF THE FORMS TYPICAL OF STALINISM... NATURALLY, THE CONDEMNATION, IN WHICH MANY FACTS ARE FALSIFIED AND TWISTED, IS MADE BEFORE A SOVIET PUBLIC THAT DOES NOT HAVE ANY CHANCE TO JUDGE...NO ONE CAN WRITE 'NEW TIMES' OR ANY OTHER PUBLICATION EXPRESSING OPINIONS CONTRARY TO THE CONDEMNATORY EDITORIAL. THIS

IS A MATTER OF POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL 'SENTENCES,' EXPRESSED WITH THE FULLEST IMPUNITY BEFORE A PUBLIC WHICH IS MININFORMED AND WITHOUT THE RIGHT OF REPLY...THE PCE WILL SOON PUBLISH THE 'NEW TIMES' ARTICLE, ACCOMPANIED BY A SERIES OF CLARIFICATORY NOTES ABOUT THE MANY FALSIFICATIONS WHICH IT CONTAINS...THE 'NEW TIMES' ATTACK IS A FORM OF IDEOLOGICAL TERRORISM...WE FEAR THAT THIS SAME TONE IS EMPLOYED WITH ANYONE WHO CRITICIZES THE SOVIET REGIME; THAT IT IS THE CONDEMNATORY TONE WITH WHICH THE OPINIONS OF DISSIDENTS ARE JUDGED, WITH THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES THAT EVERYONE IS AWARE OF."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 6602

USEEC AND AMEMBASSY

6. BALLESTEROS, DEFINING EUROCOMMUNISM AS "DEMOCRATIC" COMMUNISM, THEN ADDRESSES PARTICULAR "FALSIFICATIONS" OF THE 'NEW TIMES' ARTILCE, EMPHASIZING THAT CARRILLO, IN HIS BOOK, CALLS FOR AN INDEPENDENT EUROPE (NOT, AS 'NEW TIMES' CHARGES, A TILT TOWARD THE US) WHICH WOULD  
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MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON, BUT WOULD PURSUE ITS OWN INDEPENDENT POLICY. HE CONTINUES THAT CARRILLO PRESCRIBES NO "HALF-WAY HOUSE" BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM, AS 'NEW TIMES' CHARGES. THE PCE ADVOCATES AND IS WORKING TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "NEW SOCIALISM." BALLESTEROS THEN CONCLUDES THAT "THE WRITERS IN 'NEW TIMES' HAVE AN OBSOLETE IDEA OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND ITS UNITY, JUST AS THEY HAVE AN OBSOLETE IDEA, WHICH IS MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR, OF WEST EUROPEAN REALITY..."

7. WE WILL NOT CHANGE OUR POLICY NOR WILL WE SEEK AN EXACERBATION OF THE POLEMIC. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR CALM AND WILL RESPOND TO IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ATTACKS WITH ARGUMENTS...OF SOME THINGS WE ARE COMPLETELY SURE: THE PCE WILL MAINTAIN ITS UNITY AROUND ITS CURRENT POLICY, AND THE POLICY NOW CALLED EUROCOMMUNISM, THE DEMOCRATIC COMMUNISM, WITH ONE OR THE OTHER VARIATION, NOT ONLY IS THE FUTURE FOR SPAIN AND WESTERN EUROPE, BUT OF ALL THOSE COUNTRIES THAT FIND THEMSELVES AT A HIGH LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT." END UNCLASSIFIED.

8. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT: IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE PCE SOUGHT TO INJECT SOMEONE OTHER THAN CARRILLO AND AZCARATE INTO THE POLEMIC, IN ORDER TO LEND CREDENCE TO THE CONTENTION -- WHICH WE HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT -- THAT THE CARRILLO/AZCARATE POSTURE ENJOYS BROAD PCE SUPPORT. IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR, HOWEVER, WHY BALLESTEROS WAS CHOSEN TO MOUNT THE CHARGE. HE IS ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, A RESPECTED INTELLECTUAL AND ONE OF MANY RUMORED AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER TO BE A POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR TO CARRILLO. INDEED, HIS AUTHORSHIP OF THE ARTICLE MAY FORE-  
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SHADOW A MORE VISIBLE ROLE FOR HIM IN THE FUTURE. END  
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## Message Attributes

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